

National Anti-Slavery Standard. PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY, BY THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, At its Office, No. 39 Nassau Street, New York. THREE DOLLARS PER ANNUM. AARON M. POWELL, Editor. WENDELL PHILLIPS, Special Editorial Contributor. For rates of Advertising and Club terms see Fourth page. LETTER FROM COL. CHARLES E. MOSS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 15, 1867. To the Editor of the Standard: MEMBERS of Congress are beginning to arrive, and people are busy speculating upon the probable action of that body on its assembling together. The feeling outside seems to be general that very little will be accomplished until the representatives from the non-reconstructed States are elected and admitted to seats. That feeling is not so much the result of expressed opinions on the part of members, as a general lack of confidence in the pluck of a large number of our Republican representatives. Their conduct the last two sessions has been such as to make the enthusiastic, earnest Radicals of the nation believe that body, as at present constituted, fails to comprehend the requirements of the hour, and is wanting in nerve to face the difficulties of the situation. The impression is quite strong in circles professing to be well informed, that the House will muster up courage sufficient to vote articles of impeachment against President Johnson, although it is thought it will lack the backbone to suspend him during trial. I am myself inclined to the belief that the same want of pluck, and the same disposition to shirk responsibility that has heretofore characterized many of the members, will mark their action the early part of the coming session.

But that state of things will last up to the date of the entrance into that body of the Senators and Representatives from the recently insurgent States. That event will probably take place next April, or May at the farthest. Those States will add to Congress some fifty Representatives and twenty Senators of the most advanced school of Radicalism, who will have the courage and good will not only to impeach the drunken traitor now occupying the White House, but to deprive him at once of all power of mischief. Having long felt the weight of his treachery, and suffered persecution and loss by reason of his wicked attempt to reconstruct those States on a basis of rebel rule, they will not hesitate one moment in voting for such measures as will successfully and right speedily remove him from power. An almost solid Radical representation from the ten unreconstructed States added to the present Radical strength of Congress, will be sufficient not only to carry impeachment but immediate suspension. I believe it safe to calculate that, by the 1st of June next, Andrew Johnson will be compelled to vacate the White House in favor of Radical Ben Wade.

That idea is beginning to somewhat modify the position of Mr. Johnson and his friends. As an instance of its effect I will state an occurrence here on the 13th. The Bread and Butter Brigade, together with boys and Tom Florencia, got up a grand serenade that evening to call out a speech from his Excellency. That speech as at first prepared was very bitter and right well calculated to rouse the indignation of Congress. In that form it was sent to the printer. The news from Arkansas, however, somewhat modified his wrath, and the bitterness of his speech had to be extracted. The Democrats were too shrewd managers to trust Mr. Johnson with another 22d of February harangue, and got hold of him and fixed up the silly affair; you saw reported in the papers. President Johnson intended to deliver a much more ferocious and offensive harangue, and would have done so but for the interference of his conscience-keepers.

The election in Arkansas demonstrates pretty clearly the fact that a large mass of the poor white laboring men and mechanics of the South are satisfied with negro suffrage and the Congressional plan of reconstruction. The whites in Arkansas number three times the black population. The truth is, a large majority of the poor white laborers and mechanics in every Southern State will hereafter vote the Radical ticket. They will unite with the negro in the overthrow of the ruling aristocracy that has so long degraded and kept them in ignorance and poverty.

It is curious to see the course pursued by Democrats since the recent elections. The old dodge of negotiation is recommended, and one prominent New York Democratic organ proposes that some half dozen prominent rebels of the South, including the ex-confederate Vice-President Stevens, and an equal number of Northern vassals, shall be authorized to adopt a plan of reconstruction based upon certain provisions of the Constitution of the recent Confederate States. There is no need of wasting time or labor over such propositions. The whole question of reconstruction will be settled by the people of the insurgent States long before any Democratic propositions can be adopted. Next May will witness each State back in the Union under the rule of true loyal friends of the government. No power on earth can now prevent that result.

The Presidential question is exciting considerable attention. The friends of Gen. Grant and Judge Chase are quite active in the work of manufacturing public opinion favorable to one or the other of those men. So far I think Grant is ahead. Still it is by no means certain he will receive the nomination. There seems to be great reluctance to accept him until he shall come out openly in favor of a Radical policy. His friends here seem to desire the Radicals to take him without any platform whatever. They claim he should be the leader, not the servant, of the party that nominates him. Not only that, but the warm supporters of the General are constantly asserting that universal suffrage must be abandoned, and Radical measures be given up. In fact, they claim Radicalism has defeated the Republican party in the recent elections, and the only course left to win the next Presidential election, is to nominate Gen. Grant and run him on a Conservative platform.

Those men forget that eleven Southern States will take part in that election, and that not one of them can be carried for Gen. Grant or any one else on a Conservative platform. Three-fourths of the Republican States will require universal suffrage to be incorporated into the Republican platform in 1868. If it is not done, the Radical element, comprising more than half the Republican voters of the nation, will bolt, and nominate a candidate of their own, and run him against both Republican and Democratic nominees. There is no possible

chance of the Republican party succeeding in the elections, in 1868, but by adopting universal suffrage. If it adopts in its Convention a thoroughly Radical universal suffrage platform, and nominates even Gen. Grant and compels him to stand squarely and openly on it, a Republican President will be elected. One thing is morally certain, and that is, that the National Republican Convention will be compelled to adopt a platform more radical than any measure yet proposed by Congress, or its candidates will be defeated. The Radicals of this nation believe the time fully come for the adoption of a complete and thorough Radical policy, and no party can or will receive their votes in 1868 not openly pledged to carry out in all its logical consequences such policy. The friends of Gen. Grant, and Secretary Chase, and all other candidates, will do well to take notice, and govern themselves accordingly. Another thing, too, will be insisted upon by the Radicals, in 1868. The candidate must be the servant of the Radical party, pledged by the Radical idea, and not its master. No man, not even General Grant, is important enough or powerful enough to become the master of this nation, or conduct successfully an administration in opposition to the ideas and policy of Radicalism. Radicalism is the life and soul of the Republican party, and no man need expect to succeed as a candidate of a lifeless and soulless party. There is, then, no chance for the success of Gen. Grant, unless he and his friends cut loose from the Weeds, Raymonds, and Conservative non-descripts, and come out unequivocally in favor of the most advanced Radical ideas.

The friends of Judge Chase urge him as a representative Radical. That he is favorable to universal suffrage is unquestionably true. He has many good deeds in the past to recommend him to Radical men. Still, his bank policy detracts much from his availability in many sections of the Union. A large majority of the Radicals are opposed to the national banks, and favorable to a greenback currency. Were it not for his views on banking and currency, Judge Chase would be a very popular candidate. As it is, he stands a fair chance to be defeated in the Convention.

I am inclined to believe a new man may yet be selected that will give satisfaction to the Radical men of all sections. There is no necessity of confining the choice of the party to Grant and Chase, so long as we have in our ranks Fremont, Hamlin, Butler, Julian, Sheridan, and Gen. Howard. Let the friends of Grant and Chase wrangle and intrigue until the meeting of the Convention, and then the true Radicals will select a candidate satisfactory to the people, and elect him.

I have not yet met a single member of Congress who talks of backing out in the matter of reconstruction. Every Republican I have yet met declares his intention to take a step in advance instead of backwards. If all the members who have not arrived will vote as well as those here talk, the President will be impeached right speedily. But somehow the climate and atmosphere of Washington has a peculiar effect upon the knees of Congressmen, and I have very little expectation of finding the action of members correspond with their talk.

CHARLES E. MOSS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 18th, 1867. To the Editor of the Standard: The managers of the Grant movement are laboring hard to manufacture public opinion favorable to their dumb idol. It proves rather an up-hill business, and unless soon managed by a better and pruder class of men, the General will be compelled shortly to break silence by crying aloud "Good Lord, save me from my friends!" No candidate, however strong in the affections of the people he may be, can successfully carry on his shoulders in a Presidential race the terrible weight of Thurlow Weed, Henry J. Raymond and their corrupt cliques as managers and directors of the campaign.

It is now quite evident that the intention of his friends is to run him as a conservative favorable to the theory that "this is a white man's government, to be run in the exclusive interest of white men." In support of this assertion I will mention that his particular friends assert that about one year since he declared against negro suffrage, and remarked to a certain official "This is the white man's government, and must be run in the interest of the white man." On the strength of that assertion many a man is now laboring to procure the nomination of Gen. Grant on a platform of availability, full of pretty words signifying nothing. One thing will be found true in 1868, and that is that the Republican party will never be permitted to survive that contest conducted upon such principles. The true, earnest Radicals will nominate and vote for their own man if such a course is attempted.

Members are rapidly arriving preparatory to their entering upon the duties of the approaching session. They generally talk bravely, but I have very little expectation of seeing their deeds correspond with their professions. Should they happen to do so we may well rejoice, as the day of deliverance would certainly draw nigh.

The President evidently intends to be fully ready for any emergency. He is drawing troops from all portions of the South to this city. Six companies, numbering four hundred and fifty men, of the Twenty-ninth Infantry, have been brought from Virginia and South Carolina within a few days, and there is now in and around the Capital a large garrison of cavalry, infantry and other troops. These troops, too, have been drawn from stations where their presence is and was necessary to protect the persons of loyal men from the persecutions of rebels and traitors. Everybody knows there is no need of troops at the Capital, and the only reason for their being at this time withdrawn from stations where there is a necessity for a military force, is unquestionably to have them ready to carry out his wicked designs against the representatives of the people. There can be no other motive assigned, especially when we take in connection the fact of his recent action in relation to the loyal military companies of this city.

I am by no means certain but the Republican party will, before Spring, be compelled in self-defense to discharge its full duty to the nation by removing the traitor at the White House. If that result cannot be reached in any other way, God grant the traitor may madly attempt to carry into speedy execution his wicked plans.

The Radicals ought to hold a national convention in this city on or before the 22d of February, to consider the course proper to pursue in the approaching campaign. Such a convention would do much to force the Republican party into the adoption of a thoroughly Radical policy, and force Gen. Grant, in case he is their candidate, to come out openly in favor of Radical doctrines. There is abundant time to make such a convention a splendid success.

CHARLES E. MOSS.

GEN. GRANT'S POSITION.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

It is not so very long since the popular cry in political contests used to be "Measures, not men." Mr. Andrew Johnson was nominated for Vice-President of the United States in accordance with the false principle embodied in that cry. The disastrous result of the experiment seems to be driving some of our friends to the opposite extreme; and, with the equally dangerous watchword "Men, not measures," they are bent upon intrusting our national destinies to a general of whose political principles nothing whatever is known, and confiding the most delicate functions of statesmanship to a man who has thus far shown himself only as a resolute and successful soldier. We have been at some pains to collect all the accessible evidence as to Gen. Grant's position on the great questions which divide the country, and the decision of which must shape for good or for ill our course during the next Presidential term. We have at present a list of twenty "authoritative" explanations of the General's position. Nine represent him as an uncompromising Radical; nine are positive that he is a straight up-and-down Democrat; and one, the Washington Post, informs us that Grant repudiated every word of Col. Forney's five columns, and the Philadelphia Press replied by an "authorized" contradiction of the Post. The Philadelphia Post learns that Grant has no sympathy with the Radicals. The Springfield Republican is certain that he is substantially in accord with the party of Freedom, only he is not so foolish as to accept Col. Forney as his spokesman. The New York Herald accepts him as a Copperhead; the Macon Telegraph denounces him as a Radical; the Richmond Enquirer believes he is no friend to the negro, while Gen. Rawlins vows on the faith of a soldier that he is the best friend the negro ever had. More than all this, the Hon. E. B. Washburne, a thoroughly disinterested statesman, whose mission in life is to get Grant elected President, has made a long speech to prove that his friend is everything that the most exacting voter can require. This ought to have settled the whole business; but, alas for the uncertainty of human affairs! Mr. Washburne has no sooner finished his oration than up gets that pestiferous Boston Post again, and avers that Grant "detests" Mr. Washburne, doesn't know him, wants to get rid of him, and is not responsible for any of his statements. The Washington Chronicle says this is a lie, and Mr. Washburne we presume, is of the same opinion. The New York Daily Book thinks any man who doubts Grant to be in perfect accord with Congress is "green enough to be eaten up for grass;" and right on the heels of this comes a statement in another Copperhead paper that the General has accepted a nomination from the Johnson Democrats, and that he is a "profound" disciple of Mr. Stanton's plan as a proof that he is a Democrat; Col. Forney quotes it as a proof that he is a Radical. One gentleman heard him refer to the removal of Sheridan as "more of the President's dirty work;" and another gentleman learns that he has taken warning by Sheridan's "ludicrous fate," and gone over to the Conservative party.

Now we have no relish for getting Presidents out of a grab-bag. We have no sympathy with the "Hurrah!" movement which hopes to rush a candidate into office, not because he is fit for the place, not because he holds to the principles which the party is created to support, but because he is a good man to shout for at the hustings. We fight to secure Equal Rights for all men, not to obtain the election of any President who can merely be relied upon to distribute offices to the Republican party. The election by Republican votes of a President who was not heart and soul identified with Republican principles would be a greater disaster for us than an open defeat in open battle at the polls, where the lines were sharply drawn, the standards boldly displayed, and the generals resolutely committed to the cause in which they were engaged. It is better to be beaten than betrayed.

REPUBLICAN WORK.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

The great work yet to be accomplished to complete our National renovation is the convincing of the masses that a State cannot afford to ignore or oppress even the humblest and most despised of its people. Until this end is achieved, our triumph over the rebellion will be imperfect and its fruits liable to turn to ashes on our lips. So long as the laws of even one State impose disabilities on a citizen because of the race whence he sprang, the color God has chosen to give him, the victories of the Union arms will be incomplete, and the foundations of the Republic unshakably insecure.

No proposition is logically more demonstrable than that wrong to any is injury and peril to all; but, when an important truth comes in conflict with a rooted prejudice, patient, persistent, self-sacrificing effort is indispensable. The Republican party owes its late reverses in some degree to the corruptions of those it has trusted with power; in part to their impatience with the slow progress of reconstruction; in part to Johnson's treachery; in part to local feuds and discontents; but, more than to any and all of these, to popular prejudice against the blacks and indisposition to see them impartially protected and regarded as citizens by the laws of the land. We think this prejudice has cost us more votes than anything else, perhaps more than all other adverse influences whatever.

We meet the issue frankly. There are wounds whereof the true soldier is proud while he suffers—wounds which he does not seek to conceal. There are Americans who were quite willing that the negro should march and camp and fight for our common country, while they stayed at home in comfort and ease, who, now that the peril is past, would like to deny to him the rights of a citizen. They would gladly whistle him down the wind until the time shall come, if it ever does come, when they shall need his body to stop the bullets that otherwise might disconcert them; then they will be ready to give him another chance to be killed in their stead. We propose to fight this treachery now and ever—to expose it, and hold it up to the light, till even the basest of the scoundrel class of a Copperhead or rebel, who hates the war for the Union, and deprecates its results, may still fight on for a "white man's government," as he fought or prayed in the war, but a Republican or War Democrat who would put the blacks under the feet of those whom they helped us to overcome, is inexpressibly mean, and as such is not fit to be a citizen. "O, let the blacks have all civil rights," they say, "so satisfy them." Why, you idiot! they never will nor can have civil rights unless they have political rights to back them. Take our city, for illustration: here a few of the thriftier negroes are allowed to vote; yet even these, because of their race, deprived of precious civil rights by a colored man who, like white men, own his own house, earns an honest livelihood, and is a respectable member of a Christian church, is not allowed to drive his own horse and cart and do therewith the carting of such merchants as may choose to employ him. We should like to employ a colored man to take us to and from a railroad station or steamboat landing occasionally, but the ordinances of this Democratic city forbid it. A black man who should try to earn a living by driving his own coach and carry passengers in it, would be first beaten to a jelly for his impudence, and then hauled before a magistrate for violating the ordinance aforesaid. No; there is and can be no civil rights securely enjoyed by blacks until the rights of manhood are won for and conceded to their white fellow-men. We have never yet been twice taken in a State on the question of conceding the right of suffrage to blacks wherein the second vote in the affirmative

was not larger than the former. And it will be, if proper appeals are made to the reason and conscience of the voters in every State, till the battle shall be won.

We urge, then, the establishment, in every township, ward, and village, of a Republican Club, whose sole object shall be the diffusion of light and truth bearing upon the great issue of equality before the law. While every non-slaveholding country but ours treats men of all colors alike, let us never doubt that the disgraceful anomaly here presented can and will be fully overcome. Friends in every State unite in forming Clubs, whose avowed and controlling object shall be the securing of equal rights to every American citizen. We can easily prove that there is no man, but especially no laboring man, whose personal good will not be promoted by such a consummation; all we need is to induce the masses to read and think. Two-thirds of all who habitually read and reflect, are now right on this point; we are beaten by the votes of men who never heard our side of the question, and never will hear it unless we make a most judicious use of the press. There are one million voters in the Union who might be won over to the side of justice and humanity by the systematic presentation of facts to their minds. A victory gained by appeals to their better nature will be substantial and enduring; and every voter will be brought to realize, from temperance to sobriety, is thereby rendered more accessible to our arguments, and likely to promote and swell our triumph. Now is the time to prepare the public mind for the next Presidential election—to sow the seed which shall yield therein a noble harvest. Let us organize and go to work!

THE SOUTH.

VIRGINIA.

Extract from a letter to the editor of the Tribune, dated

LIBERTY, Bedford Co., Va., Nov. 11, 1867. The untoward result of the New York election is greatly regretted by all loyal men here. It places us in greater difficulty than before. It has greatly encouraged contumacy on the part of the rebelliously inclined, and that class is at the present time, exceeding in their ill-treatment of the negroes, anything before known. The poor colored men are to be pitied. Outrages and dismissal are very frequent. The few white loyal men are constantly insulted, and in some instances their lives are in danger.

MARYLAND.

THE COLORED PEOPLE PROHIBITED FROM CELEBRATING THE ANNIVERSARY OF EMANCIPATION.

BALTIMORE, Nov. 11.

The commanding officers of the colored militia companies addressed a note to the Police Commissioners, stating that the colored people of Baltimore intended celebrating the anniversary of the emancipation of slavery in this State on the 21st of November; that the colored militia had been invited to participate, by a parade, armed and equipped. Permission to do so, with the protection of a police force, is asked. The Commissioners emphatically answered, No, and said they would not abate their recent order for any one. The colored citizens, of course, are not to be permitted to celebrate the death of slavery.

CONDITION OF POLITICAL FEELING.

An Alabama correspondent of the Chicago Tribune says:

"I have been several weeks in Alabama, and have conversed freely with the people, both black and white; and I have made the acquaintance of several delegates to the Convention; and I find that it is the unanimous sentiment of the extreme measures should be avoided; that the duty of the Convention will be confined to making all men equal before the law; to securing the elective franchise to all alike; and to the establishment of a free school system, of which all youth shall have the benefit. I said that this is the nearly uniform sentiment among all classes; I had better have said that it was such, for the extreme measures have got on in the public mind on this subject. Before the late elections in the North the rebels were pretty quiet, and there was no disposition among loyal men to go to extreme measures, such as a sweeping disfranchisement or confiscation; but, encouraged by the hope of a Democratic triumph in the North, the disloyal portion of the community are assuming a bold and defiant attitude, and it may be possible that the loyal portion of the people may find it necessary, in self-defense, to exclude from the polls all those who would be most troublesome."

MARYLAND.

The Baltimore American contains a report of a case just tried in the United States Circuit Court sitting in that city. A young woman, herself colored and employed as teacher of a school of colored children in Havre de Grace, was returning from her school in company with a number of her pupils, about a year ago, when the defendant, a young man who had been getting on in the world, and without the slightest provocation walked up behind and struck her a violent blow on the head by which she was felled to the ground. While prostrate he kicked her. In answer to all this she only said that he was not a gentleman, upon which he brutally told her that "if she opened her mouth again he would knock her d—d head off with his gun." The witnesses for the defense testified to the verities of the affair, and no provocation for the assault was alleged by any one. In consequence of injuries Miss Anderson, the plaintiff, was confined to the house for some time and incurred expenses to the amount of over \$100. The ruling of the judge was altogether in favor of the plaintiff. The jury retired, and after a short absence returned with a verdict of one cent damages for the plaintiff. A motion for a new trial was denied. The bare recital of these facts is a sufficient indication of the spirit of the people in Maryland, which is shown to be general by the recent election in that State.

GENS OF SOUTHERN LITERATURE.

From the Mobile Tribune, Nov. 6.

GATHERING OF THE JAIL-BIRDS.—To-day the outlaws and ruffians of Alabama meet in convention at Montgomery. If there was still law in the land, the Penitentiary at Wetumpka would be their place of meeting; but as it is, they will assemble in the Capitol at Montgomery. Pope and Swaine deserve to be crowned with corn-cobs for the role and complete manner in which they have carried out the wishes of their masters, comprising the Rump. Not only have they shackled and gagged the State, but they have loaded her back with a pack of creatures who, if they were turned loose in the Zoological Gardens, would set the very giraffes and hippopotami to laughing. There they sit like termites on an old log in a mill-pool—calling themselves a convention. That pride of Mobile, the idiotic Horton, will probably be chosen President. We remember that when he was arrested for running from the Hon. Charles Archie Johnson he showed a great knowledge of the law, asserting as a reason for his flight that he was acting under Gen. Pope's orders, issued from the saddle. His familiarity with law terms was shown during the course of the trial, and was wonderful. During the trial, the Hon. Mr. Moulton, he addressed the Judge as "Your Honor," and the prosecuting attorney as the "learned counsel." People wondered where the devil he learned to use such terms, and he was so proud of them that before he got his dinner that day he had his photograph taken. The old fool! Well, Horton will probably be presiding officer of the gang of jail-birds gathered to frame a nigger constitution for the State of Alabama. Another member from Mobile will doubtless prove a shining light there. We allude to that bold of Radicalism, Albert Griffin of Chicago—the Hon. Albert Griffin, as the vomiting gutters called himself while a member of that caravan of so-called Southern Loyalists, who gorged like vultures and drank rum and gin for the rail-splitter's tomb. We don't know why Griffin was brought into the world, unless it was to serve as a target for abuse. We invariably abuse him when we are pressed for time in preparing an article. Dog River Buck is another member from Mobile. It is said of him that he worked some negroes very hard making "Argentine on Dog River," and when pay-day came he gave them notes promising to pay as soon as he could borrow the money. He hasn't borrowed it yet. It was in order that the control of the State government might fall into the hands

of creatures of whom the abandoned miscreants named above are fair specimens, that the military bills were passed, and the great gong-beating Gen. Pope sent down to enforce them, at an expense of nearly half a million of dollars. Why it could not have been done by issuing a single order, and without going to the expense of a military government and the farce of registration and a bogus convention, is more than an outsider can comprehend. It would have proved quite as legal as the present method. But let 'em keep on. There is a pit full of brimstone ahead.

SOUTH CAROLINA CONSERVATISM.

LAST week a "Conservative State Convention" was held in Columbia, South Carolina, whereof Hon. James Chesnut was President. Several well-known names appear on the list of speakers, among them Wade Hampton, "Governor" Perry, and Judge Inglis. The last-named gentleman drew up the address, which was adopted by the convention after some debate. This document is long and exhaustive. As a presentation of the Southern view of the questions of the day, it is an able paper, and not more or less bitter than might have been expected. We give one extract to show the conclusion at which the convention arrives. In several passages we notice allusions to the emancipation of the slaves, of anything but a joyful character. After saying that the people of South Carolina will not oppose the granting of civil rights to the freedmen, the address continues as follows:

"We, therefore, feeling the responsibility of the subject and the occasion, enter our most solemn protest against the policy of investing the negro with political rights. The black race is what God and nature and circumstances have made. That he is not fit to be invested with these important rights may be no fault of his. But the fact is patent to all that the negro is utterly unfitted to exercise the highest functions of the citizen. The government of the country should not be permitted to pass from the hands of the white man into the hands of the negro. The enforcement of the reconstruction acts by military power, under the guise of negro voters and negro conventions, cannot lawfully re-establish civil government in South Carolina. It may for a time hold us in subjection to a quasi civil government, backed by military force, but it can do no more. As citizens of the United States, we should not consent to live under negro supremacy, nor should we acquiesce in negro equality. Not for ourselves only, but on behalf of the Anglo-Saxon race and blood in this country, we protest against the introduction of the negro into law, whereby an ignorant and depraved race is placed in power and influence above the virtuous, the educated and the refined."

Mr. Chesnut, the President, left the chair and uttered a protest against the adoption of the paper. He showed the futility of such language except as a means of exciting the passions of the ignorant people of the South, and urged that in such an assembly the members could not be too circumspect in their words and deeds. But the sentiment of the convention was fully up to that of the address, and it was adopted without a count. Mr. Chesnut opposing it to the last, and maintaining that the best course was adjournment without taking any action whatever.—Boston Advertiser.

THE PRESS.

An immense pressure will be brought upon Congress at the approaching session to invalidate the negro-suffrage feature of its Reconstruction policy. The outspoken Democrats lead off, and the "Conservative" Republicans second the demand. The World argues the case as follows: REPRUDATION BY THE PEOPLE OF THE CONGRESS RECONSTRUCTION SCHEME.

One might infer from the tone of certain journals, that they support the words given by so many States has significance. The pretext is not a verdict against the reconstruction scheme of Congress. The people, it should seem, have merely given way to a transient fit of caprice; and notwithstanding the Republican party, since the passage of that act, have lost connection, barely saved Maine, lost California, lost Ohio, lost Pennsylvania, lost New York, lost New Jersey, and have been shamed in Massachusetts, and other intensely Radical States, the people nevertheless sanction, and will next year accept, the very policy which, by all ordinary rules of judging, has been signally condemned in all parts of the country from the Pacific coast to Passamaquoddy Bay. The stunning suddenness of these defeats makes it difficult for Republicans to realize the magnitude of the loss. Rip Van Winkle who awoke after what he supposed was a night's sleep, and found everything so changed and so unaccountable that, in his bewildering uncertainty, he doubted his eyes. That a party, which, when Congress adjourned in July, had such a despotic sense of its strength, should so soon find the whole country turned against it, should find itself disavowed by its own people, should find itself so affected to despair and has so often proclaimed dead, has so stupefied it with amazement, that it finds difficulty in adjusting its imagination to the facts.

Now, if the late elections have not condemned the reconstruction scheme, what have they condemned? That, or its main principle, was the chief issue in every election. And wherever that principle was so repudiated by the people, that a reconstruction fell upon it by preference, blasting it as lightning blasts the tallest pines in a forest. Such a separation was made in Ohio, and negro suffrage was singled out by the people as the chief object of their hostile onset. Had negro suffrage been submitted to a separate vote in this State, the result would have been similar. Now, any man who disputes that the rejection of negro suffrage is a willfully perverted, or else he has no capacity to reason. Eviscerate negro suffrage from the reconstruction project and it has no more possibility of life than a disemboweled man. If the topic were not too severe for ridicule, it would be diverting to hear Republicans continue to babble about the people supporting the Congress scheme, just as if no other kind of support were needed.

But even these foolish denials have their value, as involving a tacit admission that if the condemnation were real the public judgment ought to be respected. Have the Republicans reflected on the advantage they give us by this implication? It suggests the inquiry what would be the duty of Congress if the people had pronounced the condemnatory verdict upon the platform? The question is easily answered; it would be the clear duty of Congress to abandon the project at once. This conclusion follows so inevitably that the Republicans can find no way to resist it but by denying the promises, although in doing so they are driven to make the most inconceivable facts. But as they cannot argue the Democratic majority, they cannot argue the Democratic majority will make no impression on the minds of Congress to obey the people, will merely postpone a downfall it cannot avert.

There may be careless observers or loose thinkers to whom the people seem capricious in endorsing the Republican policy last year, and expressing such vigorous dissent this. If the same issue had been presented each time, such a reversal of policy would have some plausibility. But the Republican party has changed its ground, and changed so widely that a citizen might approve the former policy and detest the latter without inconsistency. They differ both in substance and in form. Last year, the party presented a constitutional amendment in the ordinary form of submitting such amendments, leaving any State to act for itself and ratify or reject it at its own pleasure. This year, the party attempts by an unconstitutional law to force upon the States a measure which they abhor. Last year, the substance of the policy was a change in the basis of representation, leaving to the States their control of the suffrage. This year, the substance of the policy is universal negro suffrage forced upon protest by the State governments were recognized as legal; for how else could they ratify amendments to the constitution? This year, they are denied all validity, and military despots are substituted in their stead to change the basis of representation. Last year, the party presented a constitutional amendment in the ordinary form of submitting such amendments, leaving any State to act for itself and ratify or reject it at its own pleasure. This year, the party attempts by an unconstitutional law to force upon the States a measure which they abhor. Last year, the substance of the policy was a change in the basis of representation, leaving to the States their control of the suffrage. This year, the substance of the policy is universal negro suffrage forced upon protest by the State governments were recognized as legal; for how else could they ratify amendments to the constitution? This year, they are denied all validity, and military despots are substituted in their stead to change the basis of representation. Last year, the party presented a constitutional amendment in the ordinary form of submitting such amendments, leaving any State to act for itself and ratify or reject it at its own pleasure. This year, the party attempts by an unconstitutional law to force upon the States a measure which they abhor. Last year, the substance of the policy was a change in the basis of representation, leaving to the States their control of the suffrage. This year, the substance of the policy is universal negro suffrage forced upon protest by the State governments were recognized as legal; for how else could they ratify amendments to the constitution? This year, they are denied all validity, and military despots are substituted in their stead to change the basis of representation.

son in his Western tour. Many men who were too self-possessed and disdainful to be influenced by such vitriolic froth, supported the constitutional amendment as thinking it the shortest path to the settlement of a question which had been too long kept open. They supposed that a strong Northern vote would cause immediate ratification by the Southern States; and they cared less for the success of the measure than for the termination of the quarrel. They acted on mistaken calculation; and when the event disclosed their error, they were not likely to judge more hopefully of a harsher measure. Men of sense and cool temper were not likely to leap such a chasm as separates the Republican policy of a last year from the Republican policy of this. They were not likely to pass from a recognition of the State governments as legal to a denial of their legality. Above all, they were not likely to regard military despots as a form of republican government, or to tolerate any such insult to their understandings as the pretence that any government could be Republican which was forced upon a people against their consent.

These considerations make it manifest that the vote of last year was no endorsement of the present policy of the Republican party. The reconstruction scheme is a new issue; and the very first time the people have had an opportunity to pronounce upon it, they condemn it with indignant warmth. If Congress persists after such a rebuke, it will add important distance to the expressed will of the people to the catalogue of its perjuries to republican principles. We tell these architects of tyranny again, and shall not cease to tell them, that their work will not be permitted to stand. They are like the foolish man in the Scripture who built his house upon the sand; and the winds blew, and the rains descended, and the floods came and beat upon that house, and it fell, and great was the fall thereof. The indescribable impudence of pretending that the reconstruction scheme has, or ever had, the support of the people, or of daring to proceed with it in defiance of their known will, or of trusting negro suffrage upon the South where their numbers and ignorance render them dangerous, immediately after their vehement rejection by the North, where their fewness would render them utterly contemptible and unsafe—such insolent defiance alike of consistency as of the people, will meet its due retribution as soon as another election shall put the people in possession of the government. We will concede a great deal to gain now what we shall next year have power to take, but the passions which the Republicans seem determined to provoke and kindle will, we trust, be the means of their own undoing, and render either to them or their work in the day of their final humiliation.

The Chicago Republican presents as the lesson of the late elections the following:

THE REBELLION NOT ENDED.

Men are accustomed to speak of the slaveholders' rebellion as ended, but the ideas which gave it birth exist with unabated vigor. Lee and Johnston surrendered to Grant and Sherman; not the animosities and prejudices which produced the war, but only the material armies which made it terrible and bloody. From necessity, not from choice, was the sword sheathed. We have completely passed through the military phase of our national troubles, but the campaign of the armies has been succeeded by the legislation of Congress. The rebellion has not ceased, but has merely been transferred from the ensanguined field to the arena of the States. The echoes of all this animosity and malignity have been heard in the groans of the butchered victims at New Orleans and Memphis, and in the agonizing supplications for mercy which come from the outraged freedmen on the "bloody ground" of Kentucky. They reach the ears of the loyal North in the loud imprecations upon impartial suffrage which issue from the abolitionists in every unreconstructed State, and quicken the public pulse by the multiplied evidences of a fixed determination to frustrate, if possible, the Congressional plan of readmission into the Union—a purpose intensified by the undisguised sympathy it receives from the Democrats who fled before the draft, or who gave aid and comfort to the common enemy by encouraging a spirit of opposition to the war to preserve the National life.

He who believes that the hatreds and the prejudices of section, fostered by two generations of education, have been eradicated by four years of gunpowder, has a very shallow understanding of the teachings of history, and a very trivial comprehension of the deep-seated causes that led to the civil conflict. Men do not cast away comfort, integrity, reputation, and squander property in attempting to secure unimportant results. When the arbitrament of the sword becomes the ultimate appeal, the impelling motives must be of the strongest description. Such were the fierce passions that rioted in prodigal extravagance when vindictiveness toward Union men was applauded as a virtue, and when starvation and the systematic introduction of infectious diseases into the territory of the enemy were recognized as legitimate auxiliaries of victory.

The rebels have been conquered only so far as disarming goes. It is a mistake to say that the rebellion has ceased. It is a mistake to suppose that the surrender of Lee and of Johnston, of Forrest and Kirby Smith, gave the finishing stroke to the internecine struggle. We have reached the true, from the outset, the road of actual battle, but the conflict of opinions and the war of intellects have been raging ever since. This struggle has been complicated by the treachery of Andrew Johnson, who, armed with the power of Chief Executive, has used the subsidies of office to defeat the will of the people, and has unscrupulously added strength to the helplessness of his country's enemies.

The Republican party, that preserved nationality as so many sacrifices, has yet before it a work of patriotic duty and of great difficulty, in laying broad and deep and securely at the South the foundations of free institutions and liberal ideas. In accomplishing this, the country has a task no longer this is delayed the greater will be the task, for with the injustices of men, as with the convulsions and disasters of nature, the longer they remain unrepaired the more difficult becomes the process of reparation, owing to the aftergrowths that must be torn up and removed.

WEAK-KNEED REPUBLICANISM.

The middle men of the Republican party are just now in a sorry plight. They have all along opposed for prudential, party reasons only, the impeachment of the President. Having played with the fire and found it dangerous, they are badly frightened, and endeavor how to make the negro responsible for their own consummate folly. The Albany Evening Journal, in whose interest all negroes were deemed intelligent enough to fight, in an article entitled

"COME, LET US REASON TOGETHER,"

says: It is most unfortunate that the President and his Democratic allies were able to induce the South to reject the first liberal terms of restoration offered by Congress. Had these been accepted, the whole problem would now be determined. It is equally unfortunate that when Congress forced to do so by the attitude of the ex-rebels presented new conditions, the whites withdrew themselves from the polls, and declined to take part in calling Conventions and framing new Constitutions. The result of this course has been to leave the politics of the States where elections have been held, almost entirely in the hands of the negroes, with a few loyal whites, inferior in number, and in a few States, a majority of white registered voters. It was possible for them, if they were disposed to take to the terms prescribed by Congress, to take entire control of reconstruction. Their refusal to do so, proves that they have no desire to return to the Union upon those terms.

the whose ideas she represented.
the Mrs. Lucretia Mott said she had been glad to be
ing an expression of the full faith of the Spiritualists in

